

April 4, 1961

TO: Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

FROM: William S. Barnes and John N. Plank

SUBJECT: Cuba

These comments come forward as possible aids to evaluating any sets of proposals that are designed to rescue the Cuban Revolution from Sino-Soviet domination. They may thus serve two purposes: (1) to help spokesmen for the Administration to extrapolate from the Cuban White Paper toward concrete action alternatives; (2) to suggest guidelines for Cuban leaders, whether inside or outside Cuba, who want the cooperation and support of the United States in carrying out their own programs. We want to stress that we have assumed that among such leaders might be Castro himself. They might also include leaders, now comparatively unknown, who may emerge during the course of civil struggle in Cuba. We have not directed ourselves specifically at the groups now consolidating in Miami.

We have tried to relate the philosophy and programs of President Kennedy's Latin American statements and the Act of Bogota to current Cuban realities. We have assumed that it is no part of this Administration's thinking to try to undo the positive and desirable achievements of the last two years inside Cuba. Rather, we have accepted and applauded these achievements and have attempted to incorporate them into our programming for a differently oriented Cuban regime.

This attitude toward the positive accomplishments of the present regime is essential if at any time we are to reach an accommodation with Castro and his administration; it is also essential to the success of any effort launched by anti-Castro forces. The great body of those who remain today inside Cuba, we conclude, are not disposed to see their gains of the last years sacrificed.

Basic Policy Framework of the United States: -

The United States not only recognizes the existence of forces working for revolutionary change in Cuba but also announces its willingness to cooperate with and assist the conscious agents of such forces, provided these agents recognize that no program of radical change can be

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wholesome, or acceptable to us, if it depends for its implementation upon the deliberate and ruthless violation of the dignity of the individual. The United States wants to see a Cuba that is politically free, both internally and externally, free from the control of agents of alien systems, free from the stifling atmosphere of a closed and intolerant ideology. The United States wants to see a Cuba that is culturally free, one in which the creative genius of the Cubans can find expression. The United States wants to see a Cuba that is free from exaggerated economic dependence upon foreign interests, a Cuba that is economically diversified, a Cuba in which income is equitably distributed among all sectors of the population, a Cuba that is capable of sustained growth within the framework of a long-range development plan. The United States would like to be able to point to Cuba as an example of what can be accomplished through the philosophy and workings of the Alianza para progreso.

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Given the fact of the 1959 revolution and given these objectives of United States policy for Cuba, we believe that any new or reformed government of Cuba must operate with the following notions in view, if it wants United States assistance:

(1) Representatives of a successor regime in Cuba must be prepared to announce a ten-year plan for raising the living standards of the great body of Cuba's citizens, incorporating in this plan such desirable advances as have already been achieved in the economic and social spheres under the present Cuban administration. There can be no turning back of the clock, if our aim is that "all, and not just a privileged few, share in the fruits of growth."

(2) The United States cannot support, however, the economic policies of the present administration in Cuba which are characterized by (a) arbitrariness and lack of consistency; (b) excessive centralization of control; (c) discouragement of private activity and initiative; and (d) subordination to the political purposes of the Soviet Union.

(3) ~~The United States is disposed to encourage positive governmental action to stimulate investment in both the public and the private sectors of the Cuban economy to create the infrastructure~~

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basic to industrial and agricultural productivity.

Political Conditions Precedent: -

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The United States looks to/new Cuba in which an informed and responsible electorate will retain ultimate political control, exercised through effective suffrage and meaningful elections. To achieve this, it will be necessary that:

(a) Local and municipal autonomy on a democratic base be substantially increased in order that training of citizens in practical politics may begin as soon as possible. The new Cuban administration should be aware of and should build upon the sense of community that has emerged among Cuba's less favored citizens during the last two years.

(b) Within the context of local autonomy, new political groupings should be given every opportunity to organize themselves, and to compete for popular support. They should also have the opportunity and obligation to participate responsibly in the governmental affairs of local communities.

(c) To develop habits of discussion, cooperation and compromise, the establishment among the citizens of numerous voluntary organizations should be encouraged. The discouragement and suppression of voluntary associations in Cuba today is intolerable.

(d) Citizens preparing themselves for responsible political participation must be given access to trustworthy information and representative expressions of opinion from diverse groups. This implies the necessity of a free and responsible press and other communications media.

(e) Ultimately, the goal is to see the gradual expansion of the individual citizen's area of sharp political awareness and responsible political participation to the national arena. But national elections and the formation of true national parties and coalitions should await the development of viable democratic practices at the municipal and provincial levels.

(f) After the experiment in municipal government is well under way, consideration should be given to ways and means of

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securing a diffusion of political power by geographic and functional representation in national affairs. National elections could well be held within a year or eighteen months of the establishment of constitutional democracy.

Social Development: -

Land Reform. Cuba has the kind of society where the equitable distribution of wealth, essential to the development and preservation of a viable democratic system, involves equitable distribution of land. The United States recognizes that Art. 90 of the Cuban Constitution of 1940 provides a sound base for a land reform program. It does not countenance, however, a government policy that seeks to abolish latifundia through the simple device of transferring title to expropriated lands to the state. Title should pass to those who can work the land and put it to maximum productive use.

Pre-revolutionary owners who can make a legitimate claim will receive just and prompt compensation, either in cash or in long-term bonds, the amount to be determined by an appropriate judicial authority. United States encouragement of free and voluntary association in farm cooperatives must not be taken to imply the favoring of collectivization of land ownership.

The United States favors government support of long-term, low-interest rate loans to agricultural producers through cooperative and other special credit institutions. It also favors the extension of technical services to agriculturists. The national institute of agrarian reform (INRA), restaffed and restructured, could well perform these functions.

The United States wants enlightened and effective tax policies that will (a) raise revenue for agricultural projects; (b) burden property values so as to encourage wider ownership and discourage speculation in land; (c) apply the income tax to potentially productive land which is idle. The Tax Reform Law 447 of 1959 can be adapted to meet these requirements.

The United States commends the efforts of the Cuban people during the past two years to acquire better homes through self-help and community effort. On the other hand, this country cannot approve the

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extreme centralization of the operations of the National Institute for Savings and Housing (INAV) nor its discouraging of private initiative in the construction of housing units. Moreover, it objects to the making of political capital by the Castro regime from its apparently empty promises to transfer title to dwellings and apartments after twenty years of rent payments. What we do want is honest efforts through building and loan associations and other sources of mortgage money to provide low-cost and adequate housing. We foresee an important role for INAV as a regulatory agency in encouraging competitive pricing of basic construction materials, insuring housing loans against loss, and providing a secondary market for home mortgages.

Education. Recognizing that a literate and informed citizenry is an essential element in a democratically organized society, the United States commends recent Cuban efforts in school construction and alphabetization. This government condemns, however, (a) the excessive centralization of control of education in contemporary Cuba; (b) the use of the Cuban school system for the purpose of indoctrinating Cuban students with totalitarian ideology; (c) the use of teachers and students as adjuncts to the Cuban police and spy apparatus; (d) the use of the schools to destroy traditional patterns of family and community loyalties and to destroy ties of friendship and cooperation with the United States and the other peoples of the Western Hemisphere. Schools must not become factories of hate.

The United States wants to see (a) increasing decentralization of administration and curricula in the Cuban educational system; (b) increasing citizen participation and responsibility in the management of the school system; (c) an end to persecution of non-governmental schools and faculties, whether lay or clerical.

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Encouragement should be given to the establishment of technical schools, to meet the needs of both urban and rural dwellers, both the young and inexperienced and the mature and trained. We suggest that the system of Danish Folk Schools may have useful lessons for a new regime in Cuba.

We believe that the University of Havana should be granted autonomy again at the earliest possible date, both because of the traditional Cuban

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pattern of university autonomy and because freedom of inquiry and expression is essential if the university is most effectively to serve the new Cuba.

We believe increased attention should be given to expanding centers of higher education in the provinces for the provision of training to teachers. We believe that effort should be directed toward the setting up of regional centers for the propagation of new teaching techniques and the introduction of knowledge about advances in science.

We believe that special attention should be given to the needs of rural schools, not only in basic education, but also in agriculture, sanitation, health and nutrition.

We deplore the withdrawing of students from their schools for para-military training; but we see real possibilities in the transformation of the Juventud Rebelde and other youthful elements of the militia into a "Cuban Peace Corps" or a modified conservation corps.

Public Health. We believe the present Cuban administration has made significant advances in meeting Cuba's public health needs, particularly in the matter of providing basic health services to the rural and depressed urban sectors of Cuba's population. We should not like to see the work of the 1959 Revolution undone in this field. At the same time, however, we believe that a major emphasis of the Cuban government should be upon preventive, as contrasted with remedial, health services. Attention should be given to matters of nutrition, sanitation, hygiene, malaria control, pediatric and pre-natal clinics, and the like.

We want to see a more efficient and better trained cadre of health officers, and increasing emphasis upon the provision of medical care to the people, irrespective of the individual's financial situation.

The importance of a physically healthy population need not be stressed. No society can achieve the maximum development of its resources if its members are diseased, underfed, or otherwise physically handicapped.

The United States recognizes that energetic individual human beings, able and willing to make a better living, are transforming the Cuban

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countryside. This country will support and encourage individual aspiration, initiative, and drive, regarding it as a desirable self-concomitant of help and mutual cooperation. In the light of the recent changes in Cuba, high priority should be given to a new inventory of its human and material resources; the next step is to work out a fiscal plan which will bring such resources to bear on the economic needs of the island.

The United States wants to see the government of Cuba reallocate these resources to more productive ends. For example, there is no economic or social betterment to be gained from heavy military expenditures, especially when a hemispheric mutual defense program already exists. It is difficult for a nation to bring together large sums of money, to mobilize its national resources. The fruits of this effort ought not to be wasted on unproductive armament.

The first step in rectifying the present state of national finances in Cuba is to bolster confidence in the peso. Reestablishment of a fair share of the United States market to Cuban sugar may help to remedy this situation. But nothing short of a drastic reorientation of fiscal planning and present government accounting practices will succeed in halting the dangerous trend toward inflation. As long as Cuba suffers from weakness in the free value of the peso it cannot hope to extricate itself from disadvantageous barter agreements and domination by alien forces.

Confidence in the political and economic stability of Cuba must be restored if private financial resources are to be channeled into capital investment. Any new government of Cuba must build this confidence:

(1) By reestablishing constitutional guarantees against arbitrary government action, enforced by the right of appeal to an independent and strong judicial power.

(2) By fulfilling existing commitments to expropriated land owners and setting up machinery for the adjudication of claims against the government.

(3) By determining the status of enterprises which have been "intervened" -- whether they are to be nationalized, returned to

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original owners, or reorganized as corporations in which shares are sold to the public. The ultimate disposition of these enterprises should be carried out under the judicial power, possibly the Tribunal de Cuentas being the court of first instance.

The United States encourages the development of domestic institutions which will maximize savings for productive investment. Any such positive structuring presupposes an over-all economic program with targets and priorities clearly announced.

The present system of taxation may have to be revised in the light of increasing private participation in industrial and agricultural enterprise, taking full advantage of the opportunity to work out improved revenue administration which is now offered by the inter-American agencies and the proposed Latin American Conference on Taxation in Buenos Aires later this year. The United States is prepared to respond to requests for technical assistance in revising tax policy and tax structure within the context of the inter-American program in this field.

All of the foregoing suggestions concerning land use, housing, education, and Public health call for a cooperative assault on these problems by pooling of domestic and foreign resources. But these resources are not limited to those typically financial or monetary in nature. Self-help cooperative associations and community projects can well be applied to the construction of housing and schools and to volunteer teachers in the campaign to eradicate illiteracy. Resources can also be effectively mobilized by inducements and incentives. For example, the United States has had successful experience with low-interest, long-term government loans for expansion of rural electricity, the rural groups organizing cooperatives to build and maintain the lines.

El cataclismo que conmueve a la Patria en sus mismos ^{se produce por} cimientos ~~surgido~~ de la desaparición total de los derechos inherentes a la persona humana; ^{por} la subversión de las instituciones democráticas en nuestro país; ^{por el} y ~~el~~ sometimiento de la Nación a una potencia extraña que, en su afán de dominio, esclaviza pueblos y afrenta a la humanidad.

El Poder Judicial, suprema garantía de los derechos del pueblo y asiento de la libertad, se encuentra en forzado e indefinido receso, debiendo soportar sus integrantes los peores insultos y la amenaza constante de su desintegración final. En consecuencia, los ciudadanos se hallan sumidos en la más absoluta indefensión frente a los abusos de autoridad.

De otra parte, el control absoluto de los medios de publicidad permite a la dictadura lanzar anatemas e injurias contra el que discrepe del tirano, sin la más remota posibilidad de defenderse de la infamia y el deshonor.

Los cubanos viven la tragedia de verse tratados como esclavos en una patria que ha debido inmolar a miles y miles de sus mejores hijos para hacer valer la dignidad plena del hombre.

Las escuelas todas, desde las primarias hasta las de nivel universitario se han convertido en centros de adoctrinamiento comunista en ~~las~~ que ha de aprenderse a odiar; en que se pretende destruir la fe religiosa de ^{las grandes mayorías} ~~nuestra nación~~.

La Constitución de 1940, que libremente ^{dio} ~~se ha dado~~ nuestro pueblo en acto de soberanía, se ha convertido en letra muerta y el poder constituyente reside hoy en la voluntad de un solo hombre, a cuyo arbitrio quedará la modificación de ~~ms~~

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Concentrados todos los poderes del Estado en sus manos, escarnecida la justicia, abolida la libertad, entregada sangrante la Patria a la voracidad de Rusia y dedicados los gobernantes a predicar el odio y el exterminio, no queda a los cubanos otro camino que responder a la guerra declarada contra nuestro pueblo generoso y valiente con la guerra necesaria y justa que ordenó Martí para la reconquista del derecho a vivir y a vivir con honra y libertad; para alcanzar de nuevo la independencia nacional; para demostrar al mundo el altivo orgullo de ser descendientes legítimos de los fundadores de la Patria; para cumplir con el indeclinable deber a enfrentarse a los usurpadores de la justicia y de la libertad.

2.- QUE PRETENDEMOS PARA LA PATRIA Y QUE OFEDEMOS PARA LA HORA DE LA VICTORIA.-

En primer término, ratificamos nuestra decisión irrevocable de asegurar a todos los cubanos el ejercicio pleno de sus derechos ciudadanos en un ambiente de armonía y concordia.

El castrismo ha pretendido someter la razón a la fuerza de las armas y al imperio de turbas fanatizadas por el demagogo más insolente que ha conocido América. Con la amenaza de prisión o muerte y a los gritos histéricos de "paredón", ha querido avasallar al pueblo atemorizando a los débiles de espíritu y ha cometido las mayores depredaciones y atropellos.

Nosotros decimos que venimos a librar esta guerra para que desaparezcan de una vez y para siempre, las injusticias, el odio entre hermanos, la desigualdad ante la Ley, las amenazas de los gobernantes a los gobernados. Para que nunca más funcione en nuestra patria el paredón infamante; para que so-

lamenta tribunales ordinarios de justicia

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mm ~~socialistas~~
URIDICAS

El castrismo habla de transformaciones sociales que no se han producido, pues no es tal, en sentido de beneficio popular, la sustitución de la libre empresa por el capitalismo del Estado.

Nosotros afirmamos que el bienestar general no puede alcanzarse, ni menos consolidarse, en un ambiente de odio entre hermanos y en la amenaza permanente. Las únicas revoluciones que han hecho progresar al mundo son las que han predicado el amor y la buena voluntad entre los hombres. La nuestra es de éstas; porque entendemos, además, que en tanto no se produzca la reconciliación nacional el país no podrá desarrollar sus riquezas.

A los trabajadores de las ciudades, pedimos que se incorporen a la lucha que les devolverá la democracia sindical y les asegurará la reconquista de sus derechos e intereses. Que se resuelvan en justicia sus demandas más sentidas, después de tan largo período en que han visto postergadas sus reivindicaciones.

Llamamos a los campesinos para establecer inmediatamente un régimen agrario que les facilite la adquisición, en plena propiedad, de las parcelas que vengán trabajando. A ellos decimos que no se les volverá a pagar en vales, prohibidos por nuestra Constitución; que se les proveerá de créditos a largo plazo y bajo interés para una refacción adecuada; que dispondrán de todos los medios efectivos para garantizar un precio mínimo a sus cosechas, propiciando la creación de cooperativas basadas en la libre decisión de sus integrantes.

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que a la mentira de los títulos ficticios sustituirá la verdad de sus reivindicaciones; la verdad de que sus hijos y los hijos de sus hijos podrán disfrutar de los bienes logrados con su trabajo fecundo.

A los padres y maestros, que las escuelas volverán a ser centros de estudios, templos de moral ciudadana y fraguas de hombres libres. A los profesores y estudiantes, que las universidades recuperarán su autonomía y la libertad de cátedra.

A los miembros del Ejército Rebelde, de la Marina Nacional y de la Policía, que las huestes de la liberación se nutren fundamentalmente de sus compañeros de ayer, y que serán ratificados en sus posiciones todos los que contribuyeron al derrocamiento de la tiranía comunista y que serán ascendidos aquéllos que lo merezcan por su heroísmo en la lucha. Organizaremos unas Fuerzas Armadas técnicas al servicio de la República a la que podrán pertenecer todos los cubanos con vocación militar, de ayer y de hoy, con tal de que puedan exhibir una conducta sin manchas.

A los milicianos, que no se tolerará persecución injusta por el solo hecho de haber pertenecido a ese ejército político y que sus integrantes, ^{personables de delitos} no ~~comunes~~, podrán incorporarse a los trabajos que desempeñaban y al ejercicio de todos sus derechos civiles.

A los desposeídos injustamente, que les serán restituidos en sus bienes.

A los cubanos todos, que una vez lograda la victoria sobre las fuerzas del mal, se restablecerá plenamente la Constitución de 1940, con la exclusiva excepción de los preceptos de imposible aplicación, por naturaleza misma de la provisio-

Celebraremos elecciones generales en el término improrrogable de 18 meses después del derrocamiento de la tiranía.

Promoveremos una activa política de reconstrucción de nuestra economía y de desarrollo industrial agrícola, minero y turístico para lograr empleo pleno y la elevación del nivel de vida de nuestra población. Estimularemos las inversiones de capital privado, nacional y extranjero, y daremos garantías a la libre iniciativa y a la propiedad privada en su amplio concepto de función social.

Aseguramos el más absoluto respeto a la independencia del Poder Judicial, a cuyas decisiones habrán de someterse gobernantes y gobernados.

Y lucharemos sin descanso hasta que desaparezca de nuestra Patria la práctica viciosa de la delincuencia política como modo de alcanzar el Poder o para mantenerse en él.

MENSAJE A LOS PUEBLOS DE AMERICA

El castrismo aspira a extender el ámbito de su imperio a todos los pueblos hermanos. Los comunistas, cuya metrópolis es Moscú, dirigen sus más esforzados empeños al debilitamiento del sistema interamericano que ha sido hasta hoy valladar infranqueable a sus locas ambiciones de poder. Sabemos que está condenada al fracaso la política perniciosa de exportar revoluciones desde nuestra patria sometida, porque sólo un ignorante o un megalómano pueda desconocer que nuestra ~~América~~ *América* ha sido y es hontanar inagotable de verdaderos revolucionarios en lucha incesante por el progreso y el bienestar de todos nuestros pueblos, dentro del sistema democrático-representativo.

...ellos decimos que nuestra guerra es...
hordas extranjeras de la tierra que vive...
Martí. Cuba, nuestra patria atropellada, ...
soviética domada al modo totalitario de los ...
ropa y Asia que han caído bajo sus garras.

Esta amarga experiencia sufrida en carne propia nos per-
mite reclamar con toda vehemencia el apoyo moral y material
de los pueblos hermanos libres de tiranías, *para sepulcros de Cuba a los invasores* no sólo como acto
de solidaridad hemisférica, sino también en prevención de fu-
turos ataques a otras naciones del Continente. Sin ese apoyo
decidido, frontal y vigoroso, nuestra victoria final, si bien
segura e inevitable, no eliminaría el peligro de que otros
pueblos hermanos padezcan los horrores y los crímenes que hoy
sufren los cubanos.

INVOCACION FINAL

Cubanos: La Patria está ocupada por un ejército extran-
jero al que sirven los que traicionaron la Revolución. Es
mandato de los Libertadores arrojar al Tirano de nuestros
Ellos dijeron que vivir en cadenas era vivir en orroble y asfixi-
tas sumidos. Y tuvieron el coraje y la decisión de darnos esta
Patria, que nosotros tenemos que reconquistar. ¡ALAS ARMAS,
CUBANOS, QUE ES PRECISO VENCER PARA NO MORIR ASFIXIADOS EN LA
ESCLAVITUD!

Invocando el favor de Dios, aseguramos a todos que con la
victoria vendrán la paz, la solidaridad humana, el bienestar de
todos y el respeto absoluto a la dignidad de los cubanos sin
excepciones. El deber nos llama a la guerra contra los verdugos
de nuestros hermanos. Cubanos: cumplamos con nuestro deber.

Jose M. Cardona
Presidente